DOCUMENTS ACCOMPANYING THE TEXAS TREATY-CONCLUBED.

Mr. Upshur to Mr. Murphy.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 16, 1844. SIR: Your despatches by Mr. Abell are received. Ye are probably not aware that a proposition has been made to the Texian Government for the annexation of that country to the United States. This I learn from the Texian Charge has been for the present declined.

ore, by a sort of necessity to look to other quarters for be acceded to by the Government of Texas. But so long as the success of that measure is very doubtful, in the opinion

Government. I have for some months past anticipated that they would be so, but I have not until very recently felt authorized to give such assurances as I can now give, calculated to influence the policy of Texas upon this point. a view to enable you to do this, it is proper to put you in possession of the following facts.

The failure of the proposition heretofore made by Texas for admission into our Union should not be allowed to influ- to make one. ence her present course. At that time the question was not understood in this country. It had not been canvassed, even by leading politicians, much less by the people at large; and the consequences dependent upon it were not then developed as they now are. If the proposition could have been placed at that time in the light in which it is now seen, there would have been no hesitation upon the subject. Indeed, it was then regarded rather as a question of time than any thing else; for I am well assured that a majority of the people of this country have always considered the annexation of Texas to their territory as an event that must happen, sooner or later. At all events, no other question can grow out of the failure of the first proposition than one of mere etiquette, or national self-respect. I have anticipated and provided for this. Supposing that Texas might feel some reluctance to renew a proposition which had been once rejected, I have invited her, through her Charge et Washington, to enter into negotiations upon the subject. A copy of my note

It is possible that the Government, and perhaps the people of Texas, may feel that they have sustained some wro from the United States, in the matters of Colonel Snively command and of certain proceedings touching one of the custom-houses on the Red river. This Government has no forgotten those subjects, nor has it been insensible to their importance. A decision in regard to them has been delayed om necessity, but every thing which could be done has been done to assure the Government of Texas that this Govern ment never meditated nor authorized any wrong of any kine to the dignity of Texas, or the rights of her people, and that every injury which may, upon proper investigation, appear to have been done by our people, will be fully and perfectly

I have reason to suppose that the silence of the President of the United States in his annual message on the subject of annexation has created an impression in Texas either that he is indifferent to that measure or that he despairs of its suc-cess. Such an impression does him great injustice. The subject was not alluded to in the message because it was thought best not to submit the question except in all its as-pects and bearings; and for that reason the President reserved t until he could present the actual treaty of annexation calculated to effect the object so ardently desired by him, and

by a very decided majority of our people.

It is already well known in Texas that the President has used every means in his power to mitigate the horrors of the war waged by Mexico against that country. In his last message he uses the most emphatic language on that subject. He leclares that it is time that the war had ceased, and thus, in effect, announces his own purpose to put an end to it by any means, except such as he derives from the treaty making power. These he now offers to exert, and has thus given t Texas a pledge of his friendly interest which it is impossible for her to doubt. This conduct on the part of this Govern ment is far more worthy of confidence than any profession however vehemently preferred.

I put you in possession of these facts, in order that you may be able to offer the proper explanations, if the subjects ould arise in the course of your conversations with President Houston. I wish you to see that functionary withou loss of time, and to urge upon him the absolute necessity of annexation, with reference to the interests (and possibly the safety) of both countries.

As it is of great importance that the messenger who bea this despatch should leave the United States immediately, I have not time to discuss the subject in all its importanbearings. My views are, in fact, disclosed in a despatch addressed to Mr. Everett, at London, of which a copy is enclosed. To these may be added the following conside

What motive can England have for a disinterested friendship towards Texas! Friendship between nations is never nterested; but in this case even the common feeling of our commercial dealings with other countries. national kindness cannot be presumed to exist. The policy of England is purely commercial. Her object is to engrosthe commerce of the world; by diplomacy if she can, and by force if she must. On this subject the will expect, and ulti-mately compel, concessions from Texas, which Texas, once surrendered to her influence and protection, will not have the power to refuse. The consequence will be to disgust and irritate other nations, and particularly the United States. We object with her to cripple a manufactures, designed not merely for the supply of Texas, across the Red river and the Sabire. The effect of this upon the interests of the United States is pointed out in the despatch to Mr. Everett, now enclosed.

A still worse effect would be produced by irritating or Texas shall reject our overtures, and throw herself into the arms of England. Instead of being, as we ought to be, the closest friends, it is inevitable that we shall become the bitterest foes. In this feeling all parts of our country will participate. The North which is the root influencial in the other treatments and the states of the states and most each to compel or unduly control either party. So far as Great Britain is concerned, provided other States act tween that country and the United States, which could not fail to place her under the influence and control of Great Britain to abolish slavery there. They could not but see that she had the means in her power, in the interest forms the geographical position of Texas, to accomplish the objects of the abolition of slavery in Texas. It was the arms of England. Instead of being and relations between that country and the United States, which could not fail to place her under the influence and control of Great Britain to abolish slavery there. They could not but see that she had the means in her power, in the actual condition of Texas, to accomplish the objects of policy of our Government, will entertain it more strongly than larly in New England, must full a sacrifice to this hostile

pean opinions. Emigration from the United States will cease; at all events, the people of the Southern States will

at work, a long continuance of peace between that country and the Enited States is abodisely impossible. War is in evitable. England will be a party to it from necessity, if not

from choice; and the other great Powers of the world will | not be idle spectators of a contest involving such momentons results. I think it almost certain that the peace of the civilized world, the stability of long-established institutions, and the destinies of millions both in Europe and America, hang on the decision which Texas shall now pronounce. What has she to hope in this conflict of stronger Powers? She will find herself between the upper and the nether millstones,

ground to powder in their revolutions.

It seems to me that a wise people cannot long hesitate bedependant. The history of all such alliances between strong and weak nations is enough to admonish her of the fate which awaits her. The lamb can make no contract with the devoured. On the other hand, a nation now scarcely second to any in the world, rapidly advancing in population, in weath, and in the arts, and daily developing all the sources of national power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power—a nation that adjoins her in territory, and whose power her can make no ton the world, app the sympathies of this country were altogether with her; but the want of power in the Government has prevented it from doing any thing effectual in her favor. She has been forced, sympathies, acting only with a view to its own interest, and

Hence, she has listened the more readily to the overlanes. England, and is probably, at this time, in some degree committed to that Government. If this be so, it is not surprising the trial. On this point I cannot of course speak with absolute certainty; but I feel a degree of confi ence in regard to lute certainty; but I feel a degree of confi ence in regard to lute certainty; but I feel a degree of confi ence in regard to lute certainty. The more the its information to make any further movement towards the it which is little short of absolute certainty. The more the annexation of that country to the United States. If it were subject is discussed among our statesmen, the more clearly certain, or even strongly probable, that the measure could be does it appear that the interest of both countries absolutely carried in our Congress, I cannot doubt that it would gladly requires that they should be united. When the measure be acceded to by the Government of Texas. But so long as of that Government, it is quite natural that they should be disinctined to hazard the friendship of other Powers, and particularly of Eugland, by an appeal to the United States which might not be successful.

I have little doubt that these are the views of the Texian Government. I have for some months past anticipated that they would be so, but I have not until very recently felt autor of the measure. This I learn from some sortes are the proposition, and accordingly of the measure. This I learn from some sortes are the proposition of the measure among the states welfare of both countries, and without which, from motives of policy or necessity, they might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of might be compelled to adopt measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling of measures which it is to be feared would engender a feeling o of it, as they still are, it found few friends among the states-Textian ed that is found that a clear constitutional majority of two thirds are in favor of the measure. This I learn from sources which do not leave the matter doubtful; and I have reason to know that President Houston himself has received the same information from sources which will command his respect. There is not, in my opinion, the slightest doubt of the ratification of a treaty of annexation, should Texas agree

> I am very anxions, sir, to impress you with the importance of this measure as strongly as it is felt by myself. I feel a deep and solemn conviction that it involves, to a fearful extent, the destinies both of Texas and of our own country. For this reason, I would have you urge upon President Houston the necessity of taking his measures decisively and prompt ly. Press upon him the high considerations of common in terest and common safety which require the union of the two countries under the same Government. A great responsi-bility rests upon him; and for the sake of his country, as well as our own, and for the sake of the harmony of the world, remotely if not immediately connected with his decision, I hope that he will not reject the offer we make in the hope of any contingent and precarious advantage to be derived for different source.

The pending negotiation with Mexico ought not to present ny difficulty, unless Texas is prepared to go back again unler the dominion of that Power. As it is certain that she will not consent to this, under any possible circumstances, the result of that negotiation cannot affect unfavorably the have an undisputed right to dispose of herself as she pleases; and if Mexico shall refuse that acknowledgment, Texas will the more need the protection which the United States now offers. She can require nothing more, in this last event, than that the United States shall take upon themselves the

adjustment of her difficulties with Mexico.
You may, if you think proper, show this letter to President Houston. He will, I trust, see in it satisfactory reasons for my extreme anxiety upon the subject—reasons which af-fect Texas quite as seriously as the United States. A concert between the two Governments upon this important point would do more for the happiness of mankind than has been effected by any political movement within the last half cen-

I particularly request that you will lose no time in pressing this matter upon the attention of President Houston. It is also necessary that you should keep me regularly and promptly informed of all that may occur in relation to it. This the more indispensable, because the friends of the measure in Congress are impatient to move in it, and are with difficulty regotiation. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A. P. UPSHUR. W. S. MURPHY, Esq., &c.

Mr. Pakenham to Mr. Upshur.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 26, 1844. Sin: In compliance with your request to that effect, I have honor herewith to transmit to you a copy of the om Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which I had the honor to read to you on Saturday last. I have the honor to be, with high consideration, your obe R. PAKENHAM. ent servant. Hon. A. P. UPSHUR, &c.

FOREIGN OFFICE, DECEMBER 26, 1843. SIR: As much agitation appears to have prevailed of late cretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Pakenham. In the United States relative to the designs which Great Britain is supposed to entertain with regard to the Republic of the right honorable Mr. Pakenham, that while he regards with pleasure the disavowal of Lord Aberdeen of any intenhave been circulated, and the errors into which the Govern- any measures, either openly or secretly, which can tend to of the policy of Grest Britain with respect to Texas. That and thereby affect the tranquillity of this Union," he at the

ed, especially by Mexico. But this desire does not arise from any motive of ambition or of self-interest, beyond that tion of slavery in her own possessions and colonies, no other interest, at least, which attaches to the general extension of country had a right to complain. It belonged to her exclusively We are convinced that the recognition of Texas by Mexico should be done or not. But when she goes beyond, and

must conduce to the benefit of both these countries, and, as we take an interest in the well-being of both, and in their steady advance in power and wealth, we have put ourselves forward in pressing the Government of Mexico to acknowledge Texas as independent. But in thus acting we have no occult design, either with reference to any peculiar influence
which we might seek to establish in Mexico or in Texas, or
avowal of Lord Aberdeen of the desire of Great Britain to are even now the great reals of England in commerce and even with reference to the slavery which now exists, and see slavery abolished in Texas; and, as he inters, is endeavwhich we desire to see abolished, in Texas.

understood, and her acts seen by all.

whold be accompanied by an engagement on the part of redress this wrong. The commerce of the Red river, so important to Texas, is within our control. We have it in our power to do more injury to the commerce, and, incidentally, to the agriculture of Texas, in time of peace, than all the other countries of the world combined; and, for the same reason, we can benefit her in equal degree. It is not to be supposed that we shall reject our overtures and throw herself into the Texas shall reject our overtures and throw herself into the Texas of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence we should take measures to desire, would endanger both the satety and prospenty of the Texas, is within our control. We have it in our power to do more injury to the commerce, and, incidentally, desire and feel it to be our duty to promote such a consumble of the States of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence to the honor or dignity of Mexico, and that it is consument to the sate of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence to the honor or dignity of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence to the honor or dignity of Mexico, and the time of peace, that the states and feel it to be our duty to promote such a consum-and interfere unduly, or with an improper of the states of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence to the honor or dignity of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States of the Union, to adopt, in self-defence to the honor or dignity of Mexico, and the time of government is actuated by no feelings of disrespect or indifference unduly of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States actuated by no feelings of disrespect or indifference unduly of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States actually of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States actually of the Federal Government is actuated by no feelings of disrespect or indifferenc

licy of our Government, will entertain it more strongly than South, because their great and leading interest, particular of the England, must fall a sacrifice to this hostile by in New England, must fall a sacrifice to this hostile. To be supposed in the neighboring States and the extreme to the adjacent States, and the Union itself. Seeing this, this Government has been com-

have never sought in any way to stir up disaffection or excitement of any kind in the slaveholding States of the Ameopinions. Emigration from the United States will rican Union. Much as we should wish to see those States and the hazard of subjecting their slave property to the placed on the firm and solid footing which we conscientiously system of Government rests, the President directs me to inspect the state of the States is anxious to preserve.

In order that the Mexican Government should have a just and full conception of the motives which have compelled this not on the hazard of subjecting their slave property to the control of a population who are anxious to abolish slavery. Texas will sam cease to be an American State. Her population who are anxious to abolish slavery. The fact alone will destroy the sympathy which now exists between that country and this.

But the first measure of the new originate, as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be to destroy that great of our southern country depends, as soon as they limited them, and she will also fareight the measure of the property of mericine them, and she will also fareight the measure of the property of the slaveholding States may be as fulfilling it. I have commented upon this topic in the despite patch to Mr. Everett. I will only add, that if Texas should that institution ten years, and probably not half that time.

You will readily perceive the, with such causes as these strengts of such and the such

I am, &c. ABERDEEN. Right Hon. RICHARD PARENHAM, &c.

Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson to Mr. Cathoun.

LEGATION OF TEXAS, WASHINGTON, APRIL 15, 1844. The undersigned, &c., in reply to the inquires of Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State of the United States, have the honor to submit the following:
In 1836, after the declaration of the independence of Texas, in pursuance of the orders of the Convention and the expression of the popular will, the President ad interim, by his proclamation, ordered an election to be held through-

It seems to me that a wise people cannot long hesitate between the alternatives now presented to Texas. On the one hand, she may have a quasi alliance with the strongest Power in the world, on whose protection she must make herself dependant. The history of all such alliances between strong

Subsequently, in 1842, instructions were given for the informal renewal of the negotiations, which, not having been met by a reciprocal action on the part of the United States, the Government of Texas directed to the objects calculated, therefore, by a sort of necessity to look to other quarters for that aid which hitherto she has failed to receive from us.

Hence, she has listened the more readily to the overtures of England, and is probably, at this time, in some degree companies that the United States, it would not hesitate to authorize the formation of a treaty of annexation was made. by this Government, through the late Secretary of State, Mr Upshur, to the Government of Texas. At that time, no arrangement having been concluded inconsistent with such a step, and the Congress having expressed their approbation of the measure, and every expression of public sentiment fully indicating that the people of Texas were yet desirous to con-summate a measure believed to be promotive of the mutual welfare of both countries, and without which, from motives reaty just concluded.

The undersigned have the most abiding confidence that should the annexation be consummated, the same will re-ceive the hearty and full concurrence of the people of Texas. And believing that the fate of this treaty, be the decision and beneving that the late of this treaty, be the decision whatever it may, will forever decide the question of annexation—a question the continued agitation of which has prevented their Government from pursuing rigorously any other policy, they feel the highest gratification that this opportunity as thus been offered. They will not anticipate nor specu ate upon the consequences of a rejection. Satisfied ever, that the language, institutions, and locality of the two ountries have fitted them for becoming members of the same great political family, or fated them to a conflict of interest which may result in evil consequences, they trust that it may be so determined as to secure the blessings of liberty to both, and promote the happiness of mankind,
Upon the subject of the public lands, the undersigned

submit a summary statement made from a late report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the President

He estimates the aggregate at Lands appropriated -- 67,408,673

Remainder unappropriated -- 136,111,327 In a report of a committee of the House of Representa proposition of amexation to this country. If Mexico should tives of the Congress of Texas, made to that body on the acknowledge the independence of Texas, then Texas will 12th of January, 1841, the debt and liabilities of the Re public are stated to be as follows :

Funded debt, bearing ten per cent. interest Bonds sold and pledged, bearing ten per cent. Debts of various descriptions, say audited drafts and other claims without interest -1,000,000 \$7,000,000

This report includes the interest then accrued, and a num ber of unaudited claims, supposed to be valid, which were not computed in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the same Congress, which report shows the public debt as less than five millions of dollars. Since the date above referred to, no further general esti-

mate has been made at the Treasury Department. It is known, however, that the revenues of the Government have nearly equalled its expenditures; so that the debt has not been materially increased, except from the interest which has since accrued.

nces of their distinguished co J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Hon. John C, Calhoun, Secretary of State.

Mr. Calhoun to Mr. Pakenham.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 18, 1844. The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States has laid before the President the note of the right honorable Mr. Pakenham, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, addressed to this Depart ment on the 26th of February last, together with the accompanying copy of a despatch of Her Majesty's Principal Se-cretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Pakenham. In seasures for stopping at once the misrepresentations which tion on the part of Her Majesty's Government "to resort to ent of the United States seems to have fallen on the subject disturb the internal tranquillity of the slaveholding States, olicy is clear and simple, and may be stated in a few words. same time regards with deep concern the avowal, for the first Great Britain has recognised the independence of Texas, time made to this Government, "that Great Britain desires and, having done so, she is desirous of seeing that independ- and is constantly exerting herself to procure the general abo nce finally and formally established, and generally recognis- lition of slavery throughout the world.

So long as Great Britain confined her policy to the aboli to determine, according to her own views of policy, whether it

with regard to the latter point, it must be and is well abolition of slavery one of the conditions on which Mexico distinguished consideration.

In undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to the right honorable Mr. Pakenham the assurance of his abolition of slavery one of the conditions on which Mexico she is pashing her influence in every commercial mart of the world. For a few years Texas might be benefited by this, because it would throw into her peris an immense amount of the general abolition of slavery throughout the ference to Texas, and made it his duty to examine with much world. But the means which she has adopted, and will continue to adopt, for this humane and virtuous purpose, are open and undisguised. She will do nothing secretly or unopen and undisguised. She will do nothing secretly or un-derhand. She desires that her motives may be generally conviction that it would be difficult for Texas, in her actual States has been signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the two derstood, and her acts seen by all.

With regard to Texas, we avow that we wish to see slainfluence and exertions of Great Britain would be extended without delay, for its approval. A still worse effect would be produced by irritating our people against a country that afforded to our great commercial and inanufacturing rival the means of annoying and injuring us so seriously. In self defence we should take measures to the part of the pa

believe is to be attained by general freedom alone, we have form you that a treaty has been concluded between the Uni-

things, already adverted to as the immediate cause of impos-ing on them, in self-defence, the obligation of adopting the measure they have. They remained passive so long as the policy on the part of Great Britain which has led to its adoption, had no immediate hearing on their peace and safe-ty. While they conceded to Great Britain the right of adopt-ing whatever relies the middle deep the set in reference to the ty. While they conceded to Great Britain the right of adopting whatever policy she might deem best, in reference to the African race within her own possessions, they on their part claim the same right for themselves. The policy she has adopted in reference to the portion of that race in her dominions may be humane and wise; but it does not follow, if it prove so with her, that it would be so in reference to the United States and other countries whose situation differs from hers. But, whether it would be or not, it belongs to each to judge and determine for itself. With us it is a question to be decided not by the Enderal Government but question to be decided, not by the Federal Government, but by each member of this Union for itself, according to its own views of its domestic policy, and without any right on the part of the Federal Government to interfere in any manner whatever. Its rights and duties are limited to protecting, under the guaranties of the Constitution, each member of this Union, in whatever policy it may adopt in reference to the portion within its respective limits. A large number of the States has decided that it is neither wise nor humane to change the relation which has existed, from their first settlement, between the two races; while others, where the Afri-can is less numerous, have adopted the opposite policy. It belongs not to the Government to question whether the former have decided wisely or not; and if it did, the under-

signed would not regard this as the proper occasion to dis-cuss the subject. He does not, however, deem it irrelevant to state, that, if the experience of more than half a century is to decide, it would be neither humane nor wise in them to change their policy. The census and other authentic docu changed the former relation between the two races, the condition of the African, instead of being improved, has become worse. They have been invariably sunk into vice and pau-perism, accompanied by the bodily and mental inflictions in-cident thereto—deafness, blindness, insanity, and idiocy—to a degree without example; while, in all other States which have retained the ancien- relation between them, they have improved greatly in every respect—in number, comfort, in-telligence, and morals—as the following facts, taken from

such sources, will serve to illustrate:
The number of deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, the negroes in the States that have changed the ancient rela tion between the races, is one out of every ninety-six: while in the States adhering to it it is one out of every six hundred and seventy-two; that is, seven to one in favor of the latte

as compared with the former.

The number of whites deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, in the States that have changed the relation is one in every five hundred and sixty one, being nearly six to one against the free blacks in the same States.

The number of negroes who are deaf and dumb, blind idiots, and insane, paupers, and in prison, in the States that have changed, is one out of every six, and in the States that have not one out of every one hundred and fifty-four; or twenty-two to one against the former, as compared with the

Taking the two extremes of North and South-in the State of Maine, the number of negroes returned as deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiots, by the census of 1840, is one out of every twelve; and in Florida, by the same returns, is one out of every eleven hundred and five; or ninety-two to one in favor of the slaves of Florida, as compared with

free blacks of Maine.

In addition, it deserves to be remarked that in Massach retts, where the change in the ancient relation of the two races was first made, (now more than sixty years since, where the greatest zeal has been exhibited in and where their number is comparatively few, (but little more than 8,000 in a population of upwards of 730,000,) the condition of the African is amongst the most wretched. By the latest authentic accounts, there was one out of every twenty-one of the black population in jails or houses of cor-rection; and one out of every shirteen was either deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, insane, or in prison. On the other hand, the census and other authentic sources of information estab-lish the fact that the condition of the African race throughout een retained enjoys a degree of health and comfort which may well compare with that of the laboring population of any country in Christendom; and it may be added, that in no other condition, or in any other age or country, has the ne-gro race ever attained so high an elevation in morals, intelligence, or civilization.

If such be the wretched condition of the race changed relation, where their number is comparatively few and where so much interest is manifested for their improve ment, what would it be in those States where the two race are nearly equal in numbers, and where, in consequence would necessarily spring up mutual fear, jealousy, and hatre between them? It may, in truth, be assumed as an axiom that two races differing so greatly, and in so many respect cannot possibly exist together in the same country, their numbers are nearly equal, without the one being subjected to the other. Experience has proved that the existing elation, in which the one is subjected to the other in the slaveholding States, is consistent with the peace and safety of both, with great improvement to the inferior; while the same experience proves that the relation which it is the desirand object of Great Britain to substitute in its stead, in this and all other countries, under the plausible name of the abolition of slavery, would (if it did not destroy the inferior by conflicts, to which it would lead) reduce it to the extreme of vice and wretchedness. In this view of the subject it may be asserted that what is called slavery is in reality a political institution, essential to the peace, safety, and prosperity of those States of the Union in which it exists. Without, hen, controverting the wisdom and humanity of the policy of Great Britain, so far as her own possessions are concerned it may be safely affirmed, without reference to the means by which it would be effected, that, could she succeed in accom plishing, in the United States, what she avows it to be he sire and the object of her constant exertions to effect throughout the world, so far from being wise or humane, she would involve in the greatest calamity the whole country, and especially the race which it is the avowed object of her exer

tions to benefit The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew listinguished consideration. J. C. CALHOUN.

Rt. Hon. RICHARD PAKENHAM, &c.

Mr. Calhoun to Mr. Green. DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 19, 1844.

That, from the geographical position of Texas, the actual condition of Texas, to accomplish the objects o would expose the weakest and most vulnerable portion of our few does not desire to establish in frontier to inroads, and place in the power of Great Britain, moreover, does not desire to establish in larly in New England, must fall a sacrifice to this hostile policy on the part of Texas.

But this is not all. If Texas should refuse to come into our Union, measures will instantly be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. Extensive arrangements of the united States through Texas.

But this is not all. If Texas should refuse to come into our Union, measures will instantly be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. Extensive arrangements of intention of seeking to act, directly or indirectly, in a policy of the union what she avows to be her desire to do in all countries where slavery exists. To hazard consequences sites to share her influence equally with all other nations. Her objects are purely commercial, and she has no thought tory with emigrants from Europe. Extensive arrangement of intention of seeking to act, directly or indirectly, in a policy of the union what she avows to be her desire to do in all countries where slavery exists. To hazard consequences which would be so dangerous to the prosperity and safety of this Union, without essenting to take the step it has, as the only desired to the would be so dangerous to the prosperity and safety of this Union, without resorting to the most effective measures to prevent them, would be, on the part of the Pederal Government, as the United States through Texas.

The British Government, as the United States through Texas.

The British Government has been comsistency which which would be so dangerous to the prosperity and safety of this union, without resorting to the most effective measures to prevent them, would be, on the part of the Pederal Government, an abandonment of the most solemn obligation in the prosperity of the union.

The British Government has been comsistence to do in all countries where slavery exists. To hazard consequences which would be so dangerous to the prosperity and safety of the union.

The British Government has been comsistence to do in all countries where slavery exists. To hazard consequences whi

Secretary of State, and, if he should desire it, you will leave can no longer refuse consistently with their own security and treaty, or any other cause, on the most liberal and satisfactory

You will finally assure the Government of Mexico that the bringing about the state of things which has terminated in the separation of Texas from Mexico. It was the Spanish Government and Mexico herself which invited and offered high inducements to our citizens to colonize Texas. That, from the diversity of character, habits, religion, and political opinions, necessarily led to the separation, without the interdeference of the United States in any manner whatever. It is opinions, necessarily led to the separation, without the interdeference of the United States in any manner whatever. It is true, the United States, at an early period, recognised the Mexico in the safety of the Union of the Union itself depend on the contingency of obtaining the previous consent of the While it could not with a due regard to the safety of the Union of the treaty as little objectionable to Mexico in the same principle in reference to Mexico herself, and the other Government de fucto. They had previously as eacted on the same principle in reference to Mexico herself, and the other Government which have rise on the former administration of Spain on this continent.

They are equally without responsibility for that state of things, already adverted to as the immediate cause of imposing on them, in self-defence, the obligation of adopting the measure they have. They remained passive so long as the policy on the part of Great Britain which has led to its

Mr. Pakenham to Mr. Calhoun.

lary of State of the United States, was pleased yesterday to address to him, containing observations on a despatch from her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the undersigned, of which the undersigned had the honor, at the request of the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, to furnish a copy, for the more complete information of the Government of the United States.

Mr. Calhoun at the same time announces to the under-

signed, by direction of the President, that a treaty has been concluded between the United States and Texas for the annexation of Texas to this country as a part of its territory, which treaty will be submitted without delay to the Senate

for its approval.

Mr. Calhoun further takes occasion to enter into explana tions as to the motives which have induced the Government of the United States to adopt their present policy with regard

to Texas; and he concludes by presenting certain remarks, founded on statistical information, in defence of the institu-tion of slavery as now established in a portion of this Republic, and in proof of the necessity of taking measures fo It is not the purpose of the undersigned in the present communication to enter into discussion with Mr. Calhoun resp cting the project thus formally announced on the part of the Government of the United States to annex Texas to the

the Government of the United States to annex Texas to the American Union—that duty will, if thought necessary, be fulfilled by higher authority—still less is the undersigned disposed to trespass on Mr. Calhoun's attention by offering any remarks upon the subject of slavery, as expounded in Mr. Calhoun's note. That note will be transmitted to her Machanis and the description of the independence of Texas, and that she declined to unite with France and the United States in a joint effort for that purpose, it is surely not a forced or unfair inference to conclude, without calling in the aid of other evidence, that she used, in conducting it, all the legitimete means of diplomacy, backed by her great Calboun's note. That note will be transmitted to her Ma-jesty's Government by the earliest opportunity; and with this intimation the undersigned would for the present content himself, were it not for the painful impression created on his mind by observing that the Government of the United States, so far from appreciating at their just value the explanations furnished by her Majesty's Government in a spirit of frank-ness and good faith well calculated to allay whatever anxiety ness and good faith well calculated to allay whatever anxiety
this Government might have previously felt on the particular
points to thich those explanations have reference, appear to
have found arguments in that communication in favor of the
contemplated annexation of Texas—thus, as it were, assigning to the British Government some share in the responsibility of a transaction which can hardly fail to be viewed in

many quarters with the most serious objection.

All such responsibility the undersigned begs leave, in the name of her Majesty's Government, at once and most positively to disclaim. Whatever may be the consequences of that transaction, the British Government will look forward without anxiety to the judgment which will thereon be passed by the civilized world, in as far as shall apply to any proocation furnished by England for the adoption of su

With the political independence of Texas not only has Great Britain disavowed all intention to interfere, but it is a well known fact that her most zealous exertions have been directed towards the completion of that independence, by ob-taining its acknowledgment at the hands of the only Power

y which it was seriously disputed.

Great Britain has also formally disclaimed the desire to stablish in Texas any dominant influence; and, with respect to slavery, she is not conscious of having acted in

From the avowed desire of Great Britain to see slavery abolished in Texas, it is inferred by the Government of the United States that England is endeavoring, through her diplomacy, to make the abolition of slavery a condition to the ac-knowledgment of the independence of Texas by Mexico. If Mr. Calhoun will have the goodness to refer once more to the copy of Lord Aberdeen's despatch, which lies before him, he will find the following exposition of the intentions of Grest Britain on this point, which the undersigned flattered himself would have been sufficient to forbid any such infersinser; would have been sunicient to forbit any such that one is such that we wish to see slavery abolished there, as elsewhere; and we should rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to abolish slavery eventually, and under proper conditions, throughout the Republic. But, although we earnestly desire and feel it to be our duty to pro adoption of such a course. We shall counsel, but we shall with equal forbearance, those Governments will be fully at liberty to make their own unfettered arrangements with each other, both in regard to the abolition of slavery and to vitation.

all other points." rsigned takes advantage of this opportunity enew to the Hon. Mr. Calhoun the assurance of his his consideration. R. PAKENHAM. Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, &c

Mr. Calhoun to Mr. Pakenham.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, APRIL 27, 1844.
The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States

as the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the answe which the Right Hon. Mr. Pakenham, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Her Britannic Majesty, was pleased to make to his note of the 18th instant, relating to the despatch of Lord Aberdeen, of which a copy was let with the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, by his request. He regrets that Mr. Pakenham has fallen into an error in

statistical facts in reference to the comparative condition of the African race in the States of this Union where slavery has been abolished and where it is still retained, with the accompanying remarks, was "to expound the subject of slavery," and to "defend it as it exists in the United States." intention in introducing the details, instead of which he attributes to him, was to correct what the under-Britain in reference to abolition, as avowed by him, but to the means which might be resorted to for its accomplishment; and that if slavery should be abolished in the United States, by the influence and exertions of Great Britain, without ing what he is pleased to call "secret" or "undue means," from unquestionable sources, that the condition of the African race in the States which had abolished slavery was far worse than in those which had not; and that of course Great

prosperity of the Union." That such was the intention of the undersigned he hopes will be evident to Mr. Pakenham on a reperusal of his note; and not, as he supposes, to "expound the subject of slavery," or to "defend it as it exists in the United States." He is the more solicitous to correct the error into which Mr. Pakenham has fellen in this particular, because the intention which he attributes to the undersigned would be incompatible with the principle which regulates the United States in their other countries, without interference on their part, to regu-late their own internal relations and concerns as to each other may seem best, without permitting any to interfere with theirs. He could not, consistently with this well-established time of peace, the amount of revenue requisite to an econoclusively to the internal relations or concerns of any of the States of this Union to be brought into controversy between this and any foreign Government whatever.

The undersigned regrets that Mr. Pakenham should en-

than it is, and disturbing their "internal tranquillity and the

ertain the impression that the Government of the United States did not appreciate at their full value the explanations of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of its policy in reference to Texas. He would repeat, what he had supposed had been explicitly stated in his note to Mr. Pakenham, the assurance that this Government fully appreciates the spirit of frankness and good faith in which the explanations were furnished. If they have failed to allay the anxiety were furnished. If they have failed to allay can no longer refuse consistently with their own security and peace, and the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutional compact for mutual defence and protection. Nor are they any way responsible for the circumstances which have they any way responsible for the circumstances which have the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutional compact for mutual defence and protection. Nor are they any way responsible for the circumstances which have the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutional compact for mutual defence and protection. Nor are they are secondary. And with that view the minister who has been recently appointed will be shortly sent with adequate powers.

If they have failed to allay the salvety seriously felt on the subject to which they referred, it was because they were accompanied by an avowal on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in reference to the abolition of slavery generally, and to Texas in particular, and the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they are furnished. If they have failed to allay the salvety which that reaty, or any other cause, on the most liberal and satisfactory which they refuse the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they have failed to allay the salvety which they refuse the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they have failed to allay the salvety which they refuse the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they have failed to allay the salvety which they refuse the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they have failed to allay the salvety which they have failed to allay the salvety of the sacred obligation imposed by their constitutions that they have failed to allay the salvety of the sacred obligation in the sacred obligation in the sacred o

principles of international law, to interfere with the domestic institutions of either country, be her motives or means what they may; or whether the avowal of such a policy, and the Washington, April 19, 1844.

The undersigned, her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has had the honor to receive the note which the honorable Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State of the United States, was pleased yesterday to address to him, containing observations on a despatch from her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the undersigned, of which the undersigned had the honor, at the request of the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, to furnish a copy, for the more complete information of the Government of the United States.

they may; or whether the avowal of such a policy, and the exertions she has made to consummate it in Texas, do not justify both countries in adopting the most effective measures to prevent it, are questions which the United States willingly leave to the decision of the civilized world. They confidently retar the appeal on the solid foundation that every country is at the request of the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, to furnish a copy, for the more complete information of the Government of the United States.

interfere with its decision. On this foundation rests the peace and the harmony of the world.

The undersigned has again referred, in conformity with the request of Mr. Pskenham, to the portion of Lord Aberdeen's despatch to which he has pointed his attention, with the view of rebutting the inference of the President that Great Britain has endeavored, through her diplomacy, to effect the abolition of slavery in Texas, by making it one of the conditions on which Mexico should acknowledge her independence. He is constrained to say, on a careful representation of the president. His lord-ship avows that Great Britain wishes too see slavery abolishship avows that Great Britain wishes too see slavery abolish-iched in Texas; that she would rejoice if the recognition of iched in Texas; that she would rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to do so, and that she feels it to be her duty to promote such a consummation. If to these emphatic declarations the fact be added, that Great Britain, at the very time they were made, was engaged in negotiating with the Mexican Government, in order to obtain from it a recognition of the independence of Texas, and that she declined to unite with France and the United States in a joint effort for the outcome it is easily in the aid of other evidence, that she used, in conducting it, all the legitimate means of diplomacy, backed by her great influence, to effect an object in the accomplishment of which she acknowledges she took so deep an interest, and to which she obviously attached so much importance. Nor does the undersigned regard the declarations of Lord Aberdeen, that Great Britain would not interfere unduly, or with any improper assumption of authority, that she will counsel, but not seek to compel or unduly control either party, as in any degree weakening the inference of the President; nor does he consider the remarks of Mr. Pakenham as a denial of its truth.

The undersigned avails himself of the occasion to renew to Mr. Pakenham the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

J. C. CALHOUN.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 30, 1844. The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extra-ordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has had the honor to receive the note which the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State of the United States, was pleased to address to the undersigned on the 27th of this month, in reply to the note of the undersigned of the 18th instant, in answer to Mr. Calhoun's note of the day preceding, relating to the despatch of the Earl of Aberdeen, of which a copy was delivered to the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, at his request.

Mr. Calhoun's notes of the above mentioned dates have been temperality to the the undersinged for the information of

been transmitted by the undersigned, for the informa-Her Majesty's Gove Her Majesty's Government.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Calhoun the assurance of his high consideration.

R. PAKENHAM.

A LATE AND HIGHLY INTERESTING LETTER

The Central Clay Club of Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, in a letter written on the 25th ultimo, invited Mr. CLAY to visit Harrisburg on his way home. In the letter of invitation were made some excellent remarks in reference to the deep nterest Pennsylvania has in the Tariff, and the obligation the State is under to Mr. CLAY for his unceasing support of that great measure. Mr. CLAY

replied as follows: WASHINGTON, MAY 11, 1844. GENTLEMEN: I received the letter which you did me the such a consummation, we shall not interfere unduly, or honor to address to me, inviting me, prior to my return with an improper assumption of authority, with either home, to visit the capital of Pennsylvania. Subsequent to party" (either Mexico or Texas) "in order to ensure the its date, I thought it right to announce to the public my determination to make no visits, nor attend any public meetnot seek to compel or unduly control either party. So far as Great Britain is concerned, provided other States act ings which might be deemed political, until the Presidential election was decided. To that determination I shall adhere.

Gentlemen, I agree with you that " no State in this Union would be benefited more by the permanent establishment of a sound Whig policy than Pennsylvania." I have had the great satisfaction always to agree with Pennsylvania in regard to public measures whenever the genuine feelings of Pennsylvania have been fairly expressed. There was not merely a cordial concurrence, but an intimate friendship between her Findlay, Smilie, Lecock, Roberts, Brown, and other distinguished sons, and me, in the Congress which declared the last war. I united also with the survivors of them, or other eminent citizens of that State, in laying the foundation of the national prosperity after a return of peace. I have no recollection of any important public measure respecting which I have differed from Pennsylvania. I was perfectly aware that "the time upposing that the undersigned intended, by introducing the was when the people of Pennsylvania were made to believe that you were not their friend." Acting under the maxim that honesty was the best policy, and upon the conviction that truth is omnipotent and public justice certain, I bore the unmerited reproaches cast upon me as became me. I have not been disappointed. I stand vindicated, in the hearts If Mr. Pskenham will have the goodness to recur to the not been disappointed. I stand vindicated, in the hearts and by the spontaneous acclamations of my fellow-citizens. being that The industry and malignity of my enemies will no doubt which he attributes to him, was to correct what he anoersigned believed to be a misconception on the part of Her
Majesty's Government, as set forth in Lord Aberdeen's despatch. His lordship seems to be of the impression that the bjection of the United States was not to the policy of Great gery, are and will continue to be employed to vituperate and vilify me. But, like all preceding assaults, they will be unavailable, and I shall remain invulnerable to them all.

In the mean time, I congratulate you on the bright and cheering prospects of the establishment of that Whig policy it would be an act of humanity to the African race, and in its consequences would neither "disturb the internal tranquillity of the States" where it exists, nor "affect the prosperity of the Union." The object of the undersigned in introducing the statistical information referred to was to correct this erroneous impression, by showing, from facts drawn terly denounced, and gross epithets applied to it. Its repeal was pronounced to be a favorite object of our political opponents. They have a majority of some fifty or sixty in the Britain could not consummate in the United States what she House. A bill to repeal that Tariff has been pending a great avows to be the object of her policy and constant exertions to part of the present session of Congress. And yet, yestereffect throughout the world, without rendering the condition day, on a test vote, a majority of the House decided against of the African race in the slaveholding States much worse the renealing bill. Leaving the Topiff of 1842 in FULL and the repealing bill, leaving the Tariff of 1842 in rull and SALUTARY OPERATION! This decision was an involu concession of our political opponents to the wisdom and be-neficence of Whig policy, produced by the returning prospe-

rity of the country, and the enlightened opinion of the people. But, gentlemen, I have a much higher gratification than any which could be derived from that decision of the House of Representatives. It is, that the People of the United States, from the St John's to the Sabine, who have been so with the rest of the world; that is, to leave all long divided and sgitated on the question of the encouragement of domestic industry, are about to settle down in union and harmony upon the equitable basis of raising, in principle of their policy, permit any question belonging ex- mical administration of the Government exclusively from foreign imports, by a Turiff so adjusted as that, by proper discriminations, just and reasonable encouragement shall be extended to American industry. May this happy union and harmony pervade all other great measures of public policy. and nothing occur to disturb the peace, sully the character, or check the onward and glorious march of our country.

I am your friend and obedient servant, H. CLAY. Mesers Samuel H. Clark, A. J. Jones, David Fleming, J. C. Kunkle, C. McCurdy, Thomas Foster, Jr., Aaron Bombaugh, J. C. Wallace, Samuel Alleman, Henry Pef-fer, Daniel Reichard, P. C. Sedgwick, and Geo. Trullin-